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Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned to Bejsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

• [527] [431]

18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

[263] [824]

19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaro entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsá people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsébo Majsá must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaro became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaro his /350/ younger son was only unconscious. Then Miriápura Turíkaro thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaro blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

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291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

• 527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

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They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

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It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/230 cont./

276 Thus its effect is also a superexcitation of the imagination. Nevertheless he sometimes falls to the ground, unconscious. "With the fourth cuia," says the old Indian Antônio to Koch G. (Zwei Iahre, 201), "people fall violently and then have the most beautiful visions" (59).

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59. From our personal experience we can say that we have drunk kaxpí prepared by Makú, Wanãna and Taryana natives. At the great feast of the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés), which was discussed above, kaxpí of the Makú, Wanãna, and Taryãna tribes was served. That of the Makú tribe was prepared by one of the Makú who served as slaves to the Wanãna of the locality. That of the Taryana was made by the old Taryana Calisto from Iauareté, who brought with him from that locality, for this occasion, a bunch of thick cipo (o[illegible]ch in diameter and 1.5 meters in length approximately). The kaxpí was distributed personally by the local tuxaua, Mandú by name, who simultaneously took two small cuias, one for each person. T[illegible]komũ, who "had blown" the drink before the cu[illegible]ere filled, stirred the liquid, using a piece o[illegible]ck cipo, with four intumescences, and which is one of the ingredients of the drink. It is taken without difficulty, since it has a bearable bitter taste. Nevertheless, several Indians made faces and some of them spit out the rest. Following that, three men, each /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with two large cuias of caxirí, came in a line, zigzagging and making a noise with the mouth like the buzzing of an insect, and distributed the caxirí to those who had drunk kaxpí, in order to take away the unpleasant taste. Some Indians declared to us that they had seen luminous globes or flames. We did not preceive

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/footnote 59 cont./ anything: we experienced, then, only a slight excitation in the muscles of the legs and, at night, strong occipital pain in the head. We believe, however, that such sensations had nothing to do with the drink and were only the effects of tiredness, of the sun and the heat of the day. We later observed to the Taryana Indians who had accompanied us to the feast that the kaxpí was weak and we had felt nothing. They explained to us that one of the ingredients was missing, a cipo that was planted by an old man who had already died and they had not found such cipo upon undertaking the trip. They promised us to prepare later, with all the technique, a quite strong kaxpí. Actually they did it days later and offered it to us. With fear of a violent reaction caused by the drink, we did not want to take it in public, but in private, and not only a small cuia, but we drank quite a good cuia in three stages. Although, like Koch G., we had before our eyes a white paper on which we wrote down our notes, we did not get to perceive any luminous sensation or any other external feeling. Only the unpleasant taste made us indisposed, although without vomiting, forcing us to diet that day, and to use bitter drops and other stomach potions later. We are of the opinion that, for this reason, the effects indicated in the Indians must be explained by the easy excitability of their imaginations.

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/Footnote 126 cont./ Pe. Antônio Giacone recalls: "This belief (immortality of the material life, VII-2, e (1)) makes them almost insensitive and apathetic to the teachings of the eternal truths. They abandon with difficulty the corruption in which they live" ("Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," p. 31).

and some civilized person who, for other reasons (perhaps in contraposition to those of the Missionaries), appears or resides around those regions. Which is the truly humane and patriotic attitude? What will the responsible persons decide?

6. Feasts and Amusements.

a) Feasts or Caxirís.

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1) Caxiri. We have presented the "poosé" or wãx-tĩye baxsá (in the Língua Geral, Dabacurí) as a religious rite. It does not seem, however, that all their feasts and dances are religious ceremonies. Rather, some evidently are simple entertainments and are called pêru-sĩrĩrĩ-nãmã̃ (Uaupés, pêru-sĩhĩ-nãmã̃) or caxiri (in the Língua Geral) (127).

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127. This is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg (cf. Zwei Jahre, p. 372; cf. Note 39 /see p. 502/, VII-4 e) 2 a 2nd).

Actually, in some cases they are almost improvised; any reason at all, or even a simple request by a civilized visitor, is enough for a feast. Participation in such dances is not required; but, while some pass the time entertaining themselves, the others remain seated on the small seats or lying in the hammocks, talking and laughing, and at times making fun of those who are dancing, because of some inaccuracy in the movements.

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• 527 535 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

[273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pêru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a [562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Makú from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3)), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

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527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã̃ (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Makú from the outskirts of Iauareté.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Popsé:

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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

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There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b)). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
• 527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, accord-
[115] ing to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Barã, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

*192 /482 cont./

621 476 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

• 527 221 226 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 222 527 At different times of the year great quantities of insects appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 527 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the Indians of the different povoados, move to

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/footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of [164] verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.